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ABSTRACT

Several factors associated with academic underachievement and high attrition of minority students are discussed, based on a review of the literature. A significant problem exists in undergraduate and graduate programs with respect to the lack of representation of minority students. The three factors identified as most critical are: (1) self-esteem and self-concept; (2) educational barriers; and (3) systematic issues such as biased tests, poverty, discrimination, and alienation in schools. Recommendations to help this situation include: making legislative changes at all levels; providing greater financial aid to underrepresented minorities; and improving congruency (the match or fit between the needs, interests, and skills of the individual and those of the communities of the institution). It is important for faculty and administrators to work together in remedial academic programs, advising, personal, financial and career counseling, and minority support groups. It is noted that effective minority programs require minority staffing since minority students require appropriate role models. Since predictors of college success for Caucasian students may be inappropriate for minorities, new criteria should be developed. Universities should implement a series of programs and activities designed to increase the amount of interaction between minority and Euro-American students. The importance of counseling services is discussed. Contains about 160 references. (SM)

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What Universities and Counseling Centers Can Do to Address the Problem of Low Admission, Attrition, and Retention of Minority Students.

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ABSTRACT

What Universities and Counseling Centers Can Do to Address the Problem of Low Admission, Attrition, and Retention of Minority Students.

Oscar F. Cervantes, Ph.D.

A significant problem exists in undergraduate and graduate programs, specially in psychology, with respect to the lack of representation of minority students. This is compounded by alarmingly high minority drop-out rates in high school. This review of the literature focused on the following factors associated with academic underachievement and high attrition of minority students: (a) self-esteem/self-concept, (b) educational barriers, and (c) systemic issues i.e. biased tests, poverty, discrimination, and alienation in schools. The demographics of rapid growing minority communities were reviewed. Recomendations to address the problem of low admission, attrition, and retention of minority students are provided.

Statement of the Problem

A significant problem exists in undergraduate and graduate programs, specially in psychology, with respect to the lack of representation of minority students (Arroyo, 1981; Olmedo, 1977b; Padilla, 1977; Ruiz, 1973; Rumberger, 1983; Stang & Peele, 1977; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1978). This is compounded by alarmingly high minority drop-out rates in high school (Brown, Rosen, Hill & Olivas, 1980; Hirano-Nakanishi, 1986; Rumberger, 1983; Steinberg, Blinde & Chan, 1984; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1978).

The combined problems of inadequate representation and high drop-out rates of minority students are all the more significant given the lack of representation of minority professionals, such as in the mental health field. Because of the need to match therapists and clients on ethnic and cultural backgrounds, this lack has contributed to recidivism and severe underutilization of therapy by minority persons (Atikson, 1983; Atkinson, Maruyama & Matsui, 1978; Bernstein, Wade, & Hofmann, 1987; Gomez, Ruiz & Rumbaut, 1985; Proctor & Rosen, 1981; Ridley, 1984; Uba, 1982).

Sarason (1971) has argued that a college education frequently produces stress and conflict which contributes to attrition. For minority students in the United States, it also has been proposed that, in addition to stress, a number of individual and systemic variables contribute to academic underachievement including problems of low self-esteem/self-concept, and the experience of racial-ethnic biases of educational institutions.

Review of the Literature

This review of the literature will focus on factors associated with academic underachievement and high attrition of minority students: (a) self-esteem/self-concept, (b) educational barriers, and (c) systemic issues i.e. biased tests, poverty, discrimination, and alienation in schools.

Self-Esteem and Self-Concept

A variable related to underrepresentation and attrition rates of minority students is self-esteem/self-concept. This has been defined by Corsini (1984) as the way a person feels, possesses and desires self-respect, self-acceptance, personal worth, competence, strength, achievement, adequacy, mastery, identity, independence, freedom, prestige, status, recognition, attention, dignity, and appreciation. Chan (1977) stated that "an individual becomes vulnerable to negative maladaptive stress reactions by virtue of seeing himself being of low self-esteem, and of high anxiety proneness, powerless, and helpless, and externally oriented and unable to cope" (p. 97). Furtheremore, psychological resources such as self-esteem and a sense of mastery of the environment may attenuate stress (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978).

The lack of self-actualizing power affecting minorities in the United States has been associated with learned helplessness and poor self-concept (Seligman, 1975; Sue, 1977), since the academic efforts of minorities seem to be limited by their minority status more than the scholastic activities themselves (Moritsugu & Sue, 1983). For example, Anderson and Safar (1967)

proposed that Hispanics and American Indians acquire feelings of inferiority by living in a society that promotes discrimination and negative perspectives towards North American native cultures.

The above studies suggest that ethnic minority children develop low self-esteem because of societal prejudices which are likely to be internalized. The vast majority of research on self-concept and educational achievement neglects the importance of the ethnic and socioeconomic composition of schools. Thus, the influence of these variables on self-esteem remains largely unexamined. Felice (1973) studied a sample of high school students and found that largely segregated schools promoted higher achievement for Euro-Americans, but had the opposite effect on Black and Hispanic students. It has also been argued that minority students perceive the school setting differently than Euro-Americans. For example, Garza and Nelson (1973) found that Mexican-American students perceived universities as being more conventional and they placed a greater emphasis on academic achievement, while Euro-Americans were more comfortable in university settings and had a tendency to focus more on the practical gains and benefits that are part of being a college student.

The majority of research suggests that under-representation and high drop-out rate of minority students seem to be related to low self-esteem which, in turn, is associated with high levels of stress; these stressors include discrimination, prejudice, lack of power, and de facto segregation.

Educational Barriers

The high attrition rate of minority students in graduate programs has also been associated with institutional barriers such as the lack of awareness of cross-cultural issues in professional training programs (Bernal and Padilla, 1982; Brislin, et al., 1973; Ponterroto & Casas, 1987). Other problems include the lack of minority faculty and administrators in clinical psychology doctoral programs (Padilla, 1977).

MacFadden and Wilson's (1977) survey of psychology graduate programs found that less than 1% required a cross-cultural psychology course. More recently, Wyatt and Parham (1985) found that less than 2.8% of doctoral programs in the U.S. offered cross-cultural training. Thus, the profession as a whole is failing to adequately educate mental health professionals who will serve minority clients (Casas, 1984). Historically, it has been shown that doctoral programs in psychology have not been sensitive to cross-cultural issues until they have been forced to do so (Ponterotto & Casas, 1987). It should be acknowledged, however, that authors such as Olmedo (1979) have reported a growing interest among psychologists in understanding minority populations which a decade ago comprised about 17% of the U.S. population. Casas, Ponterotto, and Gutierrez (1986) have argued that it is primarily the rapid increase of minorities in the U.S. and the resulting lack of mental health services for these persons that has forced Euro-American practitioners to consider innovative ways to treat clients from minority groups.

The absence of cross-cultural training constitutes a barrier

for many minority students. The curriculum is perceived often as lacking in the knowledge required to treat minority clients. Furthermore, the training received in Euro-American psychology may be biased in its explanation and diagnosis of psychopathology because it is based on Western European philosophical and cultural views of human behavior and adjustment (Brislin, Lonner, & Thorndike, 1973) and often does not take into consideration the ethnic world view or the diverse social, economic, and political perceptions of minority populations (Pederson, 1987).

In summary, the profession of psychology must recognize the importance of ethnic-racial as well as cultural factors and should better prepare its members to work with multi-cultural and multi-racial populations by developing cross-cultural training programs (Olmedo, 1977a; Ridley, 1985). Currently, this is not occurring and many minority students find their education irrelevant to their professional goals of counseling persons of a similar ethnic group. Thus, they may drop out at higher rates.

Systemic Issues

Other systemic variables that seem to be associated with the underrepresentation and the high drop-out rate of minority students from universities are the use of standardized testing, academic costs, poverty, discrimination, and alienation.

Standardized testing is another factor believed to be related to the underrepresentation of minority students in the educational system. Testing is a criterion, often coupled with GPA, for the admission of minority students to graduate programs.

The use of testing for academic admissions began in the 1920's, when the College Board hired psychologist Carl Campbell Brigham to develop academic standardized tests (Owen, 1986). It is shocking to find that Brigham (1923) considered the arrival of Blacks to the U.S. as "the most sinister development in the history of this continent" (p. xxi). He quoted Edwin G. Conklin who advocated "geographical isolation of races" to "prevent their interbreeding" (p. 208). Further, Brigham (1923) felt that the weakened state of the white race was the direct consequence of the abolition of slavery, that Blacks should be stopped from mixing freely with Caucasian people, and that intelligence testing would serve as one instrument for maintaining that barrier. In fact, use of standardized achievement tests has served as a barrier for many qualified ethnic minorities (Olmedo, 1981).

While differences in achievement levels between Euro-Americans and minority students continue to narrow through their college careers (Gosman, Dandridge, Nettles, & Thoeny, 1983; Jones, 1984), most minority students from lower socio-economic status (SES) groups do not have impressive high pre-admissions credentials (Astin, 1982; Powers, 1984). In this connection, special consideration should be given to studies of the "late-bloomer" hypothesis developed by Wilson (1980, 1981). These studies have shown that minority students tend to underachieve during the first year of college but later have academic successes to the same degree as non-minority students in college settings. Goldman and Hewitt (1976) pointed out that high school

GPA combined with SAT results were a reliable predictor of GPA at the college level for Euro-Americans and Asians, but not for Blacks and Hispanics. Thus, the indiscriminate use of high school achievement and test scores to exclude minorities from admission to institutions of higher education should be questioned, since these admission criteria work against minority students in a disproportionate manner (Goldman & Hewitt, 1976; Padilla, 1979; Sharma, 1986) and may not be reliable predictors of subsequent performance.

Goldman and Hewitt (1976) indicated that studies of standardized test bias have focused mostly on Blacks and Euro-Americans, but not on other ethnic groups such as Hispanics and Asians. However, it is known that on multiple standardized tests such as the SAT, GRE, MCAT, GMAT, many minority groups generally achieve lower scores than Euro-Americans (Cleary, 1968; Frederiken, 1984; Montoya, 1976; Owen, 1986; Shea & Fullilove, 1985)

It is also well documented that measures of clinical and academic knowledge used in the U.S. suffer from monocultural biases (Guthrie, 1976). Even the ETS and the College Board admitted in various reports that a large gap exists between the results of the SAT scores of Euro-Americans and the results of the same test results of Blacks, Mexican-Americans, and Puerto Ricans (ETS, 1982).

While researchers realize that standardized tests are not entirely culture-free, many still feel that these tests can be used to predict academic performance with moderate accuracy

(Cole, 1981; Jones, 1984; Linn, 1986; Sue, 1983). Therefore, the educational measures being used in graduate and undergraduate programs must be re-evaluated (Cole, 1981; Cronbach, 1980).

Other barriers facing minority students are educational costs and lack of financial resources. In general, a considerable gap has been found between the academic scores of students whose families are economically well off and those students whose families are poor (ETS, 1982). Also, students from higher SES backgrounds obtain higher grades and continue in college to a greater extent than lower socio-economic status peers (Astin, Astin, Bisconti & Frankel, 1972; Cope & Hannah, 1975; Pantages & Creedon, 1978).

Vasquez (1982) asserts that lack of parental financial support often compels Hispanics to drop out of college. In addition, she argues that many Chicano students will not complete college even if they receive loans, possibly due to the stress that they experience because of their increasing debts.

The economic disparity of minority students is based largely on the fact that in the U.S., ethnic minorities seem to be overly represented in the low SES sectors (Apple, & Weis, 1986). Poverty is known to cause stress, especially in the family structure, the most important system for most minority groups, which in turn can lead to an increase in the overall level of stress for students (Cuellar & Moore, 1970).

Poverty and discrimination have been shown to be two of the most important variables in academic underachievement of minority students. For example, the President's Commission on Mental

Health (1978) identified American Indians, Asians, Blacks, and Hispanics as suffering from special stress factors in American society, particularly poverty. Furthermore, the poor, regardless of their cultural affiliation, are often the targets of discrimination, not only in schools but also in other settings (Cuellar & Moore, 1970). Thus, poverty and discrimination may contribute to the underrepresentation of minority students in graduate school, particularly at a time of increasing political conservativism and decreased economic resources.

Discrimination in the U.S. has strong roots (Steinfield, 1973) and the combination of discrimination and poverty compromises the development of study habits, the acquisition of knowledge, and experiences that are cited as reasons for academic underachievement among minority students (Hernandez, 1973). Poverty and prejudice act as inescapable barriers, not allowing minorities fair access to educational institutions (Hernandez, 1973). Thus, the poverty and discrimination that minority students face in the U.S. contribute to academic underachievement by affecting self-concept, generating stress in the family system, and limiting the range of educational programs available.

Racism is yet another important variable that impacts the academic achievement of minority students in the U.S. (Harding, Proshansky, Kutner, & Chen, 1969; Sherif & Sherif, 1956). For example, some have asserted that minorities are socially and intellectually inferior to Euro-Americans (Jensen, 1972; Thomas & Sillen, 1972). On the other hand, many social psychologists

point out that institutionalized racism has detrimental effects on minorities because of stress, lack of opportunities and social isolation (Moritsugu & Sue, 1983; Sue, 1983).

While some progress has been made in improving race relations in the U.S., racial equality has not, as yet, been fully achieved (Sue, 1983). For example, economic inequality prevails among American Indians, Blacks, and Hispanics (Kitano, 1980; Pinkey, 1975; Schiller, 1982; Simpson & Yinger, 1958). Racial barriers against minorities continue to be a problem because of stress and denied societal benefits such as an education.

One of the overt manifestations of racism is segregation. For example, studies suggest that the relative size of the Black population significantly affects the dynamics of intergroup relations with many Euro-Americans (Blalock, 1967; Brown and Fuguitt, 1972; Giles, 1977; Reed, 1972; South, Bonjean, Markham, Corder, 1982). Blalock (1967) stated that the larger the number of Blacks, the more likely they will be perceived as threatening and thus they will be denied social access. Vecoli (1985) has also pointed out that the Hispanic population has been thought of as threatening by many Euro-Americans. According to Padilla and Ruiz (1976), feelings of superiority and intolerance for racial differences among many Euro-Americans has caused individual, economic, judicial, and educational discrimination against ethnic minorities.

While it has been found that many Blacks aspire to higher education, there seem to be a number of social and economic

obstacles hindering the achievement of their educational goals (Da Costa, 1976; LaFerriere, 1978). For example, Blacks and other minority students appear to suffer cultural shock in the educational setting because of perceived discrimination and prejudicial treatment (Bancroft, 1976; Werner, Conners, Aoki, & Dahlie, 1977). This problem has negative effects on minority students' social and emotional adjustment (Allan & Naire, 1981).

Bean and Hull (1984), Burrell (1979), Edmonds (1984), and Vasquez (1982) reported that minority students in higher education also experience culture shock when they enter a large, mostly Euro-American university, which may result in feelings of alienation, isolation and attrition rate. The process of adapting to a new culture is very difficult when Hispanics pull away from sociocultural as well as familial support, which can produce a great deal of distress (Karno & Edgerton, 1969; Lopez, 1970). Studies such as the one conducted by Vasquez (1982) have concluded that Hispanic women, for example, often experience unique stresses based on the role conflicts resulting from being the first generation to enter college. These women question whether or not to pursue an education when they encounter conflict between the traditional roles of wives and mothers so highly valued in Hispanic families and their newly developed roles as scholars and/or career women, which may have no parallels in their own family.

Many minority students believe that they are out of place in school (Madrazo-Peterson & Rodriguez, 1978) and social isolation seems to be associated with the drop-out rate of minority

students (Lunneborg & Lunneborg, 1985). School segregation and discrimination have been shown to result in fewer Hispanics attaining higher education and entering professional schools (Ruiz, 1973).

In summary, social and economic variables exist which prevent minorities from entering into higher education at rates commensurate to their representation in the population. Further, once minority students succeed in entering the educational system, they often continue to face the same social and economic barriers which produce feelings of alienation and isolation.

Drop-Out Rate Among Minority Students

The drop-out rate of minority students from junior and senior high schools, colleges, and graduate programs is alarmingly high (Rumberger, 1983; Steinberg, et al., 1984; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1978). The drop-out problem, however, begins early in the educational process of ethnic minorities. For example, one out of four Euro-American first-graders complete their college education, while only one out of 20 Hispanics will ever graduate from college (Ramirez & Soriano, 1981).

Proportionally, nearly twice as many Black and Hispanic students as Euro-American students drop-out of school before entering college (Stang & Peele, 1977). Also, other studies have shown that 40% of all Hispanics drop-out of school before reaching the 10th grade (Hirano-Nakanishi, 1986), and that Hispanic drop-out rates are up to three times as high as those of non-Hispanics (Steinberg, et al., 1984; U.S. Commission on Civil

Rights, 1978). Moreover, monolingual Spanish speakers leave school before the 10th grade at the rate of 55.6% (Hirano-Nakanishi, 1986). The fact that Hispanic students do not succeed academically has negative effects on their feelings of self-esteem and self-worth, which may contribute to development of feelings of failure, disappointment, and self-doubt (Ramirez & Soriano, 1981).

In their review of the literature, Cope and Hannah (1987) concluded that there are many reasons for the high drop-out rate of minority students from the school system, including the interaction among family, school, peer, and community forces (Hirano-Nakanishi & Diaz, 1982; Nielsen, 1982).

Research with college students conducted by Smith and McMillon (1986) showed that, in many instances, minority students are the first generation to ever attend college and often are socially and academically underprepared for this experience. The resulting social isolation that can occur seems to be associated with the drop-out rate (Lunneborg & Lunneborg, 1985). Moreover, some researchers feel that the increasingly high drop-out rate among Black high school students might be related to the poor and discouraging job prospects beyond high school graduation (Burrell & Christensen, 1987). Poverty has been associated with drop-out rate: For example, Hispanic students at the poverty level and below are two to five times more likely to drop-out of high school than more economically stable Hispanics (Rumberger, 1983).

Another factor associated with academic underachievement and drop-out rates is the learning style of minority students

which is viewed as more cooperative and field dependent than of Euro-American students (Ramirez, Harold, & Castaneda, 1974; Scarpaci & Fradd, 1985). However, it has been suggested that, independent of learning styles, many Hispanic students stay in the school system when they are taught better study habits and better verbal skills (Arroyo, 1981).

Ulibarri (1974) has pointed out that the drop-out rate is so high because the classroom environment is not suitable for the needs of Hispanics. This unsuitability is the result of a school system said to have: (a) a middle-class bias, (b) socio-culturally insensitive instructors, (c) teaching methods outside the context of the Mexican-American socio-culture, (d) a curriculum that stresses acculturation and assimilation while omitting significant aspects of Mexican-American culture, thus causing negative self-concept, and (e) a curriculum that reflected societal constraints which limit opportunities for Mexican-Americans to get involved and advance in the Euro-American social milieu.

Another factor that is associated with the drop-out rate of minority students from the school system is the lack of role models in academic settings. Furthermore, it is argued that educational institutions fail to successfully recruit minorities; a problem confounded by the charge of reverse discrimination (Montoya, 1976).

In summary, a number of issues have been debated concerning the high underrepresentation and attrition rate of minority students: (a) low self-esteem/self-concept, (b) educational

barries, and (c) systemic issues. All these factors seem to affect the drop out rate among minority students.

Fastest Growing Communities

Minorities reached 20.5% (11.8% Blacks, 0.6% Native Americans, 6.4% Hispanics, 1.5% Asian-Americans) of the U.S. population in 1980 (Minority Mental Health: Research Training and Research Centers, 1986). The Hispanic community is the fastest growing ethnic community in the United States, with a 6.1% annual growth compared to 1.8% for Blacks and 0.06% for Euro-Americans (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1980, 1985). Other studies suggest that Hispanics will constitute the largest ethnic minority group in the United States by the year 2000 or sooner (Congressional Hispanic Caucus, Inc., 1984). The most recent census statistics have shown that Hispanics have increased by more than a third since 1980, growing 5 times faster than the rest of the U.S. population. More than half of these Hispanics are located maily in California (34%) and Texas (21%) (U.S. Census Bureau, 1988).

This rapid increase in the size of the Hispanic community in the U.S. has caught the attention of policymakers as well as health care practitioners to the needs of this social-cultural ethnic group (Delgado, 1981). Mental health professionals are beginning to realize the need for bilingual/biculturally competent practitioners to deal with Hispanic clients (Karno & Edgerton, 1969; Marcos, Urcuyo, Kesselman, & Alpert, 1973).

Although in 1972 American Indians, Blacks, and Hispanics constituted 15% of the U.S. population, they were significantly

underrepresented in higher education, major vocations, and professions (Wright, 1972). For example, the National Research Council, Commission on Human Resources (1974) found that during the academic year 1972-73, there were 975 Black, 2430 Asians, 350 Hispanics, and 150 American Indians who obtained doctoral degrees from Ph.D., Sc.D., and Ed.D. programs. However, this Council also found that only 37% of these "minorities" where U.S. citizens and concluded that the increased number of doctoral degrees where a result of the "brain drain" from countries other than the U.S. However, recent demographic data continue to state that even though in 1983 minorities in the U.S. constituted 20.5% of the U.S. population (Minority Mental Health: Research Training and Research Centers, 1986) only 10.8% of all doctoral scientists and engineers were minorities (National Science Foundation, 1983).

For example, there have been few studies conducted about Hispanics in higher education (Goodman & Brooks, 1974), and those studies, such as the one conducted by Ruiz (1973), have concluded that, using a conservative estimate, there is a ratio of one Hispanic member of the APA for every 400,000 Hispanics in the U.S., while there is a ratio of one Euro-American for every 6,500.

Furthermore, the representation of Hispanics in clinical psychology is decreasing (Olmedo. 1977b). In addition, Hispanics comprised less than 1.4% of national enrollment in graduate programs in psychology (Ruiz, 1973), and Blacks and Hispanics have been concentrated in counseling programs (Stang & Peele,

1977). Also, 95% of psychology faculty are Euro-American and only 3% of APA members are minority (Stang & Peele, 1977). Moreover, Hispanics are underrepresented in the doctoral level mental health fields, both in the school system and in the work force (Olmedo, 1977b).

The ratios of the percentage of each ethnic group to the percentage of doctoral degrees obtained in psychology are as follows: Blacks 11.5% - 4.1%; Hispanics 7.2% - 2.8%; Native Americans 0.6% - 0.2%; Asian American 1.5% - 1.5 %. However, while Chinese- and Japanese-Americans were well represented, people from Viet Nam, Cambodia, Malaysia, and the Philippines were not (Minority Mental Health: Research Training and Research Centers, 1986). Thus, there is a need for minority psychologists and university faculty.

Recomendations

The problems of low-admission, attrition, retention, and scant graduation of minority students seems to be systemic in nature. Thus, educational institutions are partly responsible for this impasse. Changes in legislation need to occur at all levels including Federal, State, local, Boards of Trustees, college and university presidents, deans, faculty, and staff. In short, increased societal resources must be committed to minority student educational achievement (Cervantes, 1988a; Tinto, 1975). Also, recent findings have suggested that socio-economic status (Burgos-Sasscer, 1987) and educational access are the main contributors to academic success. It is, therefore, recommended greater financial aid be available to underrepresented minorites

so that they can successful pursue higher education.

Tinto (1985) has also suggested that a critical variable related to dropout is "congruency" which he defined as: "the match or fit between the needs, interests, and skills of the individual and those of the communities of the institution." Thus, students will be successful if their intellectual and social expectations prior to entering the educational institution are met by the college or university. This explains recent findings showing that minority students succeed in graduate programs in which they all assimilated (Cervantes, 1986c). Unfortunately, this acculturalization often requires the relinquishing of ethnic-cultural values. In fact, Jones' (1984) has proposed that the differences between minorities and Euro-American students may be narrowing as a function of educational and social programs as well as school desegregation. A major concern, however, is that minorities will not be able to retain ethnic values and norms when involved with their higher education program. For instance, it would be desirable for minority students majoring in psychology to be multicultural, having the flexibility to use the appropriate linguistic and societal therapeutic methods best suited for each client's needs. There is currently a fear that educated minorities may lose their ethnic identity during the educational process. The United States educational system, therefore, must guard against: (a) a Euro-American middle class bias; (b) a socio-culturally insensitive instructors; (c) teaching methods not relevant to minority values and curriculum which stress acculturation and

assimilation, omitting significant aspects of the minority cultures; (d) curricula that reflect societal constraints which limit opportunities for minorities to get involved and advance in the Euro-American social milieu; (e) lack of minority faculty, administration, and students; (f) use of biased tests; (g) high costs and poor financial resources; (h) racism, and segregation; (i) and a lack of recruitment and retention programs for minority students including counseling, academic remediation, tutorial assistance, social support, financial aid, and faculty role models (Montaya, 1976; Ulibarri, 1974).

Beal and Noel (1979), have also found, in a comphrehensive survey of retention programs, that success is dependent on intensified recruiting; advising; counseling; early warning prediction; extracurricular activities; faculty mentoring; financial aid; housing; academic support; policy changes in such areas as grading and termination. Thus, a multiple approach to the retention problem should be adopted (Cope & Hannah, 1975; Keiming, 1983). In this case, it has been suggested that all college committees need to be formed; members ought to include representatives from all levels of the academic and student communities.

Faculty role

In order to address the issue of retention, the administration and faculty need to work together in remedial academic programs, advising, personal, financial and career counseling, and minority support groups (Sedlacek, Blackwell, & Kearney, 1981). Program implementation is as important as its

content, thus, attitudes and interactions of students with faculty and staff are of key importance in examining specific programs (Lenning, Sauer, & Beal, 1980). It has previously been shown that the negative attitudes by administrators, faculty and staff have detrimental effects on students attrition rate (Jose, 1978). Padilla and Ruiz (1976) and Sue's (1983) have contented that the problem of racial inequality and racial tensions remain acute today. These problems, therefore, should not be denied, but rather, they should be studied and discussed in an open and productive manner (Tori & Cervantes, 1986).

On the other hand, informal interactions between students and faculty have been found to increase retention (Astin, 1975; Churchill & Iwai, 1981; Endo & Harpel, 1982; Gardiner & Nazari-Robati, 1983; Livingston & Stewart, 1987; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1979; Spacy, 1971; Terenzini & Pascarella, 1980; Tinto, 1982). Therefore, special funds need to be available to those faculty who wish to engage student in out of classroom learning activities (Pantages & Creedon, 1978). It has also been found that effective minority programs require minority staffing (Taylor, 1976). This is difficult because their are so few minority professionals. Like all persons, minority students require appropiate role models. Universities should, therefore, take specific actions to recruit and retain more minority faculty and staff as well as increasing faculty and staff cultural awareness (Livingston & Stewart, 1987).

Other predictors and services for college success

Predictors of college success for Caucasian students may be

inappropiate for minorities, thus, new criteria should be developed (Dawkins & Dawkins, 1980; Sedlacek & Brooks, 1976). For example, there is a general consensus that satisfaction (Edwards & Waters, 1982; Thomas & Andes, 1987) and a positive racial environment in a college campus are associated with high academic performance and retention (Allen, 1981; Bennett & Okinaka, 1984; Nettles, Gosman, Thoney & Dandridge, 1985). Thus, universities should implement a series of programs and activities that are specially designed to increase the amount of interaction between minority and Euro-American students (Livingston & Stewart, 1987).

Similar innovative programs include: (1) Summer Bridge Programs (Meyers & Drevlow, 1982); (2) a mandatory anxiety reduction orientation for new and transfer underrepresented students (California Postsecondary Education Commission, 1986); (3) parental involvement in orientation programs (Pantages & Creedon, 1978; Beal & Noel, 1979); (4) more access to learning centers (Astin, 1975; Beal & Noel, 1979; Churchill & Iwai, 1981; Livingston & Stewart, 1987; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1979); (5) tutorial help for ethnic students in maintaining their academic eligibility, specially during the first semester/quarter where most attrition occurs, (Abasto, 1982; Allen, 1981; Bean, 1980; Brigman & Stager, 1980; Dallam & Dawes, 1981; Eddins, 1982; Edwards & Waters, 1982; Newlon & Gaither, 1980; Rugg, 1982); (6) early identification and monitoring minority of high risk of students (Beal & Noel, 1979; Cope & Hannah, 1975; Green, 1983); (7) seminars on coping strategies (Abasto, 1982; Allen, 1981;

Bean, 1980; Brigman & Stager, 1980; Dallam & Dawes, 1981; Eddins, 1982; Newlon & Gaither, 1980); (8) academic advising and personal counseling (California Postsecondary Education Commission, 1986; Gamson, 1978; Livingston & Stewart, 1987); (9) campus residency (California Postsecondary Education Commission, 1986; Thomas & Andes, 1987); (10) a formal recruitment program and special admission criteria (Gamson, 1978); (11) assistance in matriculation activities, (California Postsecondary Education Commission, 1986); (12) liberal readmission for reentry students (Cope & Hannah, 1975); (13) outreach in elementary and secondary schools and community colleges (Cervantes, 1988b); (14) more information and easier access to financial aid, not loans, but grants and work-study programs (Beal & Noel, 1979; Cross & Astin, 1979; Gamson, 1978; Pantages & Creedon, 1978); (15) budgeting counseling (California Postsecondary Education Commission, 1986); (16) membership and participation in student organizations (California Postsecondary Education Commission, 1986); (17) campus activities highlighting cultural diversity (Green, 1983; Livingston & Stewart, 1987); (18) acceptance and encouragement of ethnic differences among the student body; (19) the establishment of student mentor programs; (20) the provision of succesful minority role models from the community; (21) minority students networks (Astin, 1975; Churchill & Iwai, 1981; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1979); (22) career development and work experience (Livingston & Stewart, 1987; Pantages & Creedon, 1978; Rasor, 1981); (23) goal counseling (Tinto, 1975; Willner, 1983); (24) holding a job on campus (Astin, 1975; Churchill & Iwai, 1981;

Pascarella & Terenzini, 1979); (25) field specific job opportunities (California Postsecondary Education Commission, 1986); finally, (26) required ethnic studies courses for the entire student body (Cervantes, 1988c).

The importance of the Counseling Services

It is obvious that a key factor to minority student success is the Counseling Centers. Political, financial, and a clear supportive philosophy of minority students services is fundamental. Unfortunatelly, most Counseling Services lack minority administrators, counselors, interns, and staff. However, minorities often prefer therapists of their own race (Harrison, 1975). And because of the need to match therapists and clients on ethnic and cultural background, this lack has contributed to recidivism and severe underutilization of therapy by minority persons (Atikson, 1983; Atkinson, et al. 1978; Bernstein, et al., 1987; Gomez, et al., 1985; Proctor & Rosen, 1981; Ridley, 1984; Uba, 1982). This perhaps explains why Garni (1980) pessimistically concluded that "...the research on counseling effectiveness with high-risk students is scant, with predominantly null or negative effects," (p. 223). Thus, more committed minorities should staff Counseling Centers.

Increased counseling services for minority students are necessary (Livingston, 1982). It has also been recomended that a pluralistic counseling model be implemented because it recognizes the client's culturally based beliefs, values, and behaviors which is concerned with the persons' adaptation to her/his particular cultural milieu (Padilla & Levine, 1980).

Counseling Services could provide, in conjuction with teaching faculty and peers, a mandatory extended orientation for high risk students each semester so that these students will become more knowledgable concerning academic advisement and student services. Such students should get credit for this orientation where they will received training in: (a) Leadership development; (b) study skills, (c) public speaking, and (d) test taking and time management skills. Underrepresented students would also be assisted in their development of coping and social strategies, housing, financial aid, part-time work study, incorporation of academic planning with career aspirations and interests; linkages with concerned minority and Euro-American faculty and staff, minorities clubs, third world social and academic organizations in campus etc. Unfortunately, most students are unaware of students resources centers, i.e. Counseling Services (Pantages & Creedon, 1978). Thus, there is a need to promote university resources through outreach efforts to underrepresented students. In this case, Counseling Centers need to increase their visibility through methods such as an open house for minority students given each semester. This event would help students to become aware of the activities and would also demystify counseling. Counselors need to increase their outreach to parents, elementary and secondary schools, and community colleges.

Tinto (1985) has further suggested that a key contributor of attrition is isolation. Other researchers have also concluded that it is difficult for minority students to adjust academically

and socially to the Euro-American campuses (Garza & Nelson, 1973; Hunt, 1975; Lyon, 1973). Therefore, Counseling Services need to assist underrepresented students in their psychosocial adjustement to college life and college work (Livingston, 1982).

Counseling Centers could have a Cross-Cultural component with drop-in hours, retention and a crisis unit within or at different sites on each campus. These Counseling Centers could, also, perform counseling and outreach services at different sites on each campus where students could feel confortable in receiving assistance. The clinic in each Counseling Center, however, would need at least one full time counselor committed toward supervising the efforts listed above. Furthermore, in order to prevent burn-out, it is recomended that Third World counselors take time to discuss issues and assist each other. Time could be set aside for these counselors to organize and implement the cross-cultural clinic. And simultaneously, they could be awarded credit for participating in these types of minority activities.

It is highly recomended that continuing professional development of expertise in working with minority students continues indifenetely. For instance, counselors need to get involved in helping minority students in developing productive formal and informal relatioships with faculty members (Livingston, 1982). Moreover, counselors could also assist as consultants to other student support services and/or are innovators of programs such as the one advocated by Glennen's (1975) intrusive advising and counseling programs in which faculty advisors are selected and trained to be academic advisors

and counselors to freshmen and transfers at the University of Nevada. The faculty advisors are to review students files prior to admissions to identify learning problems, and request that students see them when their grades are low. However, they should simply seek these students to decrease freshmen attrition rate from 45 to 6 percent during the first two years of the program and have a 9 percent increase in the dean's honor list as it happened in Glennen's study. After initial advice from faculty advisors, to see counselors for their identified problems, counselors need to work with students right away.

These counselors could assist in the development of a cross-cultural paraprofessional peer counseling training program created for students in leadership roles who have the potential for making a substantial impact on the retention and academic performance of of their own organization members, and in the recruitment of students. In exchange, paraprofessional peers should be given a stipend, academic credit, and professional training and supervision.

Counseling Centers also need to offer and encourage students to participate in a minority and/or specific ethnic support group in order to increase their self-esteem/self confidence, self-image and group cohesiveness. In this manner, they could bond more effectively with the university by helping underrepresented students to cope in an Euro-American institution.

In order for the above recommendations to be accomplished and to be effectual, changes need to occur within all sectors of society, culture, government, religion, school, family, and

within individuals.

Thus, if the above recommendations are followed, a more egalitarian, and self-actualized society will evolve where minorities and Euro-Americans will respect, accept, and even enjoy ethnic differences. If this were to happen, the United States would become a model for other multicultural/multiracial countries and eventually lead to a more unified world with less hatred and violence. While such world view is very idealistic, nevertheless without set goals and aspirations, societies will be in chaos.

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